[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[671] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organisations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernisation of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya*, for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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[565] 517 668 former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

● [701] Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 [669] these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

[642] 517 177 The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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668 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy
647 and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the
701 principles of absolute dominance, subservience and uncondi-
554 tional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 The lay schools[2] were not much different in strictness and dis-
565 cipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in [555] an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the
668 university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and
647 rebellious young men and women finally entered state service
641 they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[2] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and 594 supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarch- 829 ism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a [736] result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-